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FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM S/PRS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT:TRAVELING PRESS REPORTAGE, MID MORNING, SEPT 20,1976

NO. 26

1. LA TIMES (JOHNSTON), PRETORIA: "KISSINGER, SMITH TALK FOR 8 HOURS; RESULT UNCERTAIN" - RHODESIAN PM SMITH MET FOR NEARLY 8 HOURS SUNDAY WITH KISSINGER, THEN RETURNED HOME WITHOUT COMMENTING ON ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR TRANSFERRING POWER TO HIS COUNTRY'S BLACK MAJORITY.

...U.S. OFFICIALS WERE UNUSUALLY RETICENT SUNDAY NIGHT AND REFUSED TO PROVIDE DETAILS OF THE TALKS.

ON THE RECORD, KISSINGER WAS CLAIMING NO NEGOTIATING BREAK-THROUGH--EVEN THOUGH KAUNDA AND NYERERE, IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS LAST WEEK, LEFT UNMISTAKABLE IMPRESSION THAT A NEGOTIATING BREAKTHROUGH ON RHODESIA ISSUE WAS LEAST THAT WOULD SATISFY THEM.

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THE BEST KISSINGER COULD OFFER SUNDAY WAS PROPOSITION, DUBIOUS EVEN TO WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN LISTENERS, THAT "IF PROGRESS HAD NOT BEEN MADE, THERE WOULD BE NOTHING TO REPORT TO THE RHODESIAN CABINET."

LATE SUNDAY NIGHT A SPOKESMAN REPORTED THAT AFTER SMITH'S DEPARTURE, VORSTER AND KISSINGER SPOKE FOR TWO AND A HALF HOURS MORE ON OTHER MAIN SUBJECT ON THEIR AGENDA, NAMIBIA (SOUTH-WEST AFRICA). WITHOUT GIVING ANY DETAILS, SPOKESMAN EAGLEBURGER SAID "CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS WAS MADE" ON THIS ISSUE, WHICH INVOLVES DEVISING A MECHANISM ACCEPTABLE TO BLACK AFRICANS FOR A TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE THERE.

THERE WAS NO INFORMATION THAT WOULD BEAR OUT KISSINGER'S EARLIER OPTIMISM CONVEYED TO REPORTERS ON THE WAY HERE FROM ZAMBIA LAST FRIDAY.

... BY THE VERY ACT OF AGREEING TO SEE SMITH AT THIS STAGE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, KISSINGER HAS SIGNIFICANTLY RELAXED THE BARGAINING PRECONDITIONS HE HAD EARLIER IMPOSED.

...BY LATE SATURDAY NIGHT, WHEN DECISION TO SEE SMITH WAS TAKEN, REPORTERS WERE TOLD KISSINGER WISHED TO ESCAPE CONFINES OF THAT FORMULATION AND SEE SMITH ON THE MORE AMBIGUOUS GROUND THAT "SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS" IMMINENT.

THIS GAVE RISE TO REPORTS FROM BRITISH SOURCES THAT TWO-YEAR TIMETABLE HAD BEEN SCRAPPED BY KISSINGER. RHODESIAN SOURCES SUNDAY CONFIRMED THAT SMITH WOULD ON NO ACCOUNT ACCEPT A TWO-YEAR DEADLINE FOR BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN HIS COUNTRY.... (SEPTEMBER 20)

2. LA TIMES (JOHNSTON) PRETORIA (SEPTEMBER 18): "KISSINGER HINTS AT BREAKTHROUGH ON NAMIBIA FUTURE" - KISSINGER ARRIVED HERE FRIDAY TO BEGIN CRUCIAL STAGE OF HIS AFRICAN MISSION, EXPRESSING UNUSUAL BUT PRECISELY QUALIFIED CONFIDENCE THAT AN IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH ON FUTURE OF NAMIBIA (SOUTH-WEST AFRICA) MAY BE AT HAND.

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THROUGH A COMBINATION OF PUBLIC AND SEMIPRIVATE STATEMENTS TO REPORTERS TRAVELING WITH OFFICIAL PARTY, KISSINGER AND HIS AIDES CLEARLY INDICATED THEY EXPECT SOUTH AFRICAN PM VORSTER TO MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONCESSION TO BLACK DEMANDS ON ISSUE OF NAMIBIA, UN TRUST TERRITORY THAT SOUTH AFRICA HOLDS UNDER DISPUTED CONTROL.

...IN PAST NEGOTIATIONS KISSINGER, AN ACCOMPLISHED STAGE

MANAGER, HAS ALWAYS SOUGHT TO CULTIVATE A PUBLIC APPEAR-
ANCE OF PROGRESS AND SUCCESS WHEN HE APPROACHES A TURN-
ING POINT IN HIS EFFORT.

ACCORDINGLY, CAREFULLY NURTURED HINTS OF PROBABLE SUCCESS
ON NAMIBIA AND POSSIBLE PROGRESS ON RHODESIA FIT IN WELL
WITH HIS METHODS.

BUT IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT KISSINGER RECEIVED A GENUINE
LIFT THURSDAY FROM ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA, WHOSE EMO-
TIONAL DECLARATION OF HOPE FOR KISSINGER'S MISSION AND OF
CONFIDENCE IN HIS MOTIVES CLEARLY BOOSTED THE MORALE OF
THE AMERICAN PARTY.

...AT KAUNDA'S REQUEST, HE MET FOR FIFTEEN MINUTES FRIDAY
MORNING IN LUSAKA WITH KNOMO, LEADER OF OLDEST, MOST
ESTABLISHED AND LEAST MILITANT OF BLACK RHODESIAN FACTIONS,
WHICH ARE PLANNING AN EXPANDED GUERRILLA CAMPAIGN THIS
FALL IF THE CURRENT DIPLOMATIC EFFORT PRODUCES NO IMMEDIATE
RESULT.

3. LA TIMES (JOHNSTON), PRETORIA: "KISSINGER AND SMITH
TO MEET ON RHODESIA - 'SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS' CITED AS
REASON FOR BRINGING PM INTO TALKS" - KISSINGER HAS DECIDED
TO MEET WITH RHODESIAN PM SMITH TO BRING SMITH DIRECTLY
INTO HIS DIPLOMATIC EFFORT TO AVOID RACE WAR IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA, U.S. OFFICIALS ANNOUNCED HERE EARLY TODAY.

...UNTIL RECENTLY, SUCH A MTG BETWEEN KISSINGER AND SMITH
HAD BEEN RULED OUT BECAUSE KISSINGER HAD REQUIRED AT LEAST
SMITH'S TACIT ACCEPTANCE OF BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN HIS
COUNTRY WITHIN TWO YEARS AS A PRECONDITION. NOW STANDARDS
APPARENTLY HAVE BEEN RELAXED TO POINT THAT KISSINGER
AGREED TO SEE SMITH BECAUSE, IN HIS OWN JUDGMENT, "SIGNI-
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FICANT PROGRESS" HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD AN AGREEMENT ON
BLACK MAJORITY RULE.

BY LATE SATURDAY, REPORTERS WERE TOLD, KISSINGER BELIEVED
SOME PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE ON RHODESIA, BUT THAT LATE
AFTERNOON SESSION BETWEEN VORSTER AND SMITH WOULD BE
NECESSARY BEFORE KISSINGER COULD RISK MEETING SMITH.

...KISSINGER, FRIDAY HINTED THAT SOUTH AFRICAN ACQUIESCENCE
IN BLACK NATIONALIST PARTICIPATION AT AN INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON FUTURE OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICAN TRUST TERRITORY
MIGHT BE WITHIN SIGHT.

BY SATURDAY, HOWEVER, IT WAS EVIDENT NO SUCH SUCCESS WAS
LIKELY TO EMERGE FROM CURRENT TALKS.

INSTEAD OF PRESSING FOR OUTRIGHT SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICAN PEOPLES' ORGANIZATION AS A NEGOTIATING PARTNER, IT WAS UNDERSTOOD FROM SOURCES CLOSE TO TALKS THAT KISSINGER WAS TRYING TO DEVELOP ONE OF TORTUOUS COMPROMISES FOR WHICH HE IS NOTED. IT WOULD INVOLVE A MULTI-STAGE CONFERENCE WITH DIFFERING LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION BY VARIOUS NAMIBIAN GROUPS, AT DIFFERING TIMES.

AS IS CUSTOMARY WITH A KISSINGER-RUN NEGOTIATION AT MID-POINT, PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE OF PROGRESS OF TALKS HAS BEEN FRAGMENTARY, AMBIGUOUS AND EASILY SUSCEPTIBLE TO MANIPULATION BY PARTICIPANTS.

BUT SEQUENCE OF EVENTS SINCE LAST WEDNESDAY, WHEN KISSINGER MET WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE, APPEARED BEGINNING TO FALL INTO A PATTERN -- ONE IN WHICH KISSINGER, THE GO-BETWEEN, FIRST FOUND HIMSELF PRESSED FOR RESULTS BY NYERERE AND OTHER BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS MORE HARSHLY THAN EXPECTED, THEN LATER FOUND VORSTER UNWILLING TO BE AS COOPERATIVE AS KISSINGERHAD EXPECTED.

RESULT, IT SEEMED SATURDAY, WAS THAT KISSINGER FOUND HIMSELF IN DANGER OF FACING A DEADLOCKED NEGOTIATION -- AND THEREFORE A FAILED NEGOTIATION -- AT A POINT WHERE, ONLY A WEEK AGO, HE MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED MORE PROGRESS POSSIBLE.
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AS REPORTERS WERE TOLD SATURDAY, IT IS POSSIBLE TO CLAIM CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN A NEGOTIATION, AND IN FACT TO HAVE ACHIEVED PROGRESS, AND STILL HAVE IT BEEN DEEMED A FAILURE.

HENCE, APPARENTLY, RESORT TO MTG WITH SMITH. WHILE RELAXING HIS STAND THAT IN RETURN FOR MTG SMITH MUST ACCEPT PUBLICLY PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE, KISSINGER STILL INSISTED UPON "SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS."

...UNOFFICIAL REPORTS REACHING HERE SATURDAY FROM DAR ES SALAAM SUGGESTED, MOROEVER, THAT NEGOTIATING HONEYMOON BETWEEN KISSINGER AND NYERERE MAY BE OVER. TANZANIAN PRESIDENT WAS REPORTED TO BE INCENSED BY NEWS REPORTS THAT A "SENIOR OFFICIAL" TRAVELING WITH KISSINGER, A UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED DESIGNATION FOR THE SECRETARY HIMSELF, HAD DISMISSED NYERERE'S PUBLIC PESSIMISM AT A NEWS CONFERENCE WEDNESDAY IN FAVOR OF WHAT WERE DESCRIBED TO BE MORE MODERATE EXPRESSIONS IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION.

AT SAME TIME, CONCLUSION APPEARED UNAVOIDABLE THAT SMITH

HAD PLAYED A VERY ADROIT GAME TO MAKE QUESTION OF WHETHER HE MET KISSINGER IN PRETORIA THIS WEEKEND SEEM CRUCIAL ISSUES FACING KISSINGER-VORSTER TALKS.

...DURING MORNING, A GROUP OF RHODESIAN CITIZENS PRESENTED THEMSELVES AT U.S. EMBASSY CHANCERY HERE, REQUESTING PERMISSION TO PRESENT A GIFT, AN OIL PORTRAIT OF KISSINGER EXECUTED BY A RHODESIAN ARTIST.

FOLLOWING PROTOCOL FOR DEALING WITH NATIONALS OF A COUNTRY WHICH U.S. DOES NOT RECOGNIZE, SECURITY GUARDS AT EMBASSY POLITELY TURNED RHODESIANS AWAY WHILE ACCEPTING PORTRAIT.

SOON AFTERWARDS, MEMBERS OF SECRET SERVICE DETAIL GUARDING KISSINGER WERE SEEN CARRYING PORTRAIT UPSTAIRS IN ELEVATOR OF HOTEL IN WHICH KISSINGER PARTY IS STAYING. IT APPEARED THAT SMITH, HOWEVER VICARIOUSLY, HAD ONCE AGAIN SUCCEEDED IN GETTING IN BACK WAY. (SEPTEMBER 19)

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MAGAZINES

1. NEWSWEEK

HEADING: "PROGRESS IN PRETORIA"

THE FIRST LEG OF HENRY KISSINGER'S AFRICAN SHUTTLE WAS BEHIND HIM, AND IT HAD BEEN A ROUGH ONE. NOW HE WAS FLYING INTO A STATE BESIEGED. WHEN KISSINGER ARRIVED IN SOUTH AFRICA LAST WEEK, NEW BLACK RIOTS WERE ERUPTING IN URBAN GHETTOS, AND AS HE DROVE INTO PRETORIA, THE LOCAL NEWSPAPER CARRIED A GIANT PHOTOGRAPH OF HIM ALONG WITH THE HEADLINE "MAKE OR BREAK". KISSINGER QUICKLY BEGAN A ROUND OF TALKS WITH SOUTH AFRICAN PM JOHN VORSTER. THEN, ONLY A DAY LATER, CAME THE SURPRISE ANNOUNCEMENT: SECSTATE WOULD ALSO MEET WITH IAN SMITH, THE PM OF WHITE-SUPREMACIST RHODESIA.

KISSINGER'S APPOINTMENT WITH THE STUBBORN LEADER OF THE BREAKAWAY BRITISH COLONY SET OFF SPECULATION THAT A BREAKTHROUGH WAS IMMINENT IN THE SEC'S EFFORT TO HEAD OFF A RACE WAR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. HAK, IT SEEMED, HAD ALREADY PERSUADED VORSTER TO SOFTEN HIS STAND ON INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA, THE SOUTH AFRICAN-RULED TRUST TERRITORY ALSO KNOWN AS SOUTHWEST AFRICA. NOW, IT APPEARED TO MANY PEOPLE THAT SMITH WAS RESPONDING TO PRESSURE FROM KISSINGER -- AND PERHAPS FROM VORSTER, TOO.

WEEKS OF HELL: SO FAR, NO ONE KNEW WHAT SECRET DIPLOMACY

LAY BEHIND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SUMMIT WITH SMITH. BUT IT WAS WIDELY ASSUMED THAT THE RHODESIAN LEADER WAS PREPARED TO MAKE AT LEAST PARTIAL CONCESSIONS. THROUGHOUT THE SHUTTLE, THE AMERICANS HAD ACKNOWLEDGED THAT KISSINGER COULD NOT RISK OFFENDING THE BLACK AFRICAN NATIONS ON HIS ITINERARY BY MEETING WITH SMITH UNLESS SOMETHING IMPORTANT WAS TO BE GAINED. ONE SENIOR OFFICIAL IN THE AMERICAN PARTY SAID THE SEC WOULD SIT DOWN WITH SMITH ONLY IF HAK WAS "ABLE TO REPORT TO THE BLACK PRESIDENTS THAT SOME SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE THAT THEY WOULD RECOGNIZE AS SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS." EVEN SO, THE OFFICIAL ADDED, HAK "MIGHT HAVE TO TAKE HELL FOR A FEW UNCLASSIFIED

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WEEKS" IN BLACK AFRICA. "BUT IF AT THE END OF A FEW WEEKS OR A MONTH THINGS ARE CONCLUDED, IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN WORTH IT."

THE AMERICAN SECSTATE HAD JUST COME FROM TALKS WITH TWO BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS, PRES JULIUS NYERERE OF TANZANIA AND PRES KENNETH KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA. THERE HAK RAN INTO SOMETHING FOR WHICH ALL HIS YEARS OF MIRACLE-WORKING HAD NOT PREPARED HIM: A STYLE OF DIPLOMACY IN WHICH HIS HOSTS PRIVATELY GAVE HIM CAUTIOUS ENCOURAGEMENT -- AND THEN PUBLICLY CAST DOUBT ON HIS MISSION. ALTHOUGH ANGERED BY THOSE TACTICS, HAK FELT THERE WAS REASON ENOUGH TO CARRY ONE.

THE FIRST PART OF HAK'S AFRICAN JOURNEY, A TWO-DAY STOP IN THE TANZANIAN CAPITAL OF DAR ES SALAAM, BEGAN BADLY. HE WAS VISIBLY TAKEN ABACK WHEN A CROWD OF 200 DEMONSTRATORS MET HIM AT THE AIRPORT CHANTING "GO HOME, GO HOME" AND WAVING SIGNS DENOUNCING HIM AS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE "TRAVELING CASHIER OF IMPERIALISM." WHEN THE DEMONSTRATORS CLIMBED INTO BUSES TO FOLLOW HIM INTO TOWN, IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE NOISY PROTEST HAD BEEN GOVT SANCTIONED. AT HIS HOTEL, HAK RESPONDED WITH A BRUSQUE STATEMENT THAT THE TRIP TO AFRICA WAS NOT HIS IDEA. "THIS INITIATIVE STARTED AT THE REQUEST OF THE AFRICAN LEADERS DURING MY VISIT IN APRIL," HE DECLARED. "EVERY STEP THAT HAS BROUGHT US HERE HAS BEEN CAREFULLY DISCUSSED WITH LEADERS IN AFRICA AND ESPECIALLY THE (BLACK)PRESIDENTS."

UPBEAT: THE NEXT MORNING, HAK CHIDED PRES NYERERE ABOUT THE DEMONSTRATIONS, AND THE 54-YEAR-OLD TANZANIAN LEADER REPLIED THAT HE COULD NOT CONTROL SUCH OUTPOURINGS IN A DEMOCRACY. NONETHELESS, SOURCES SAID THE MOOD OF THE FOUR-HOUR MEETING WAS GENERALLY FRIENDLY AND UPBEAT. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE LATER, NYERERE PRAISED HAK'S JOURNEY

AS A "SHUTTLE OF CLARITY" AND REJECTED THE IDEA THAT IT WAS DOOMED TO FAILURE. BUT THEN NYERERE GAVE HAK THE BACK OF HIS HAND. "REALLY, ON THE BASIS OF WHAT I KNOW UP TO NOW," HE OBSERVED, "I COULD EVEN SAY I AM LESS HOPEFUL THAN I WAS."

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ONE DIPLOMAT IN DAR ES SALAAM INTERPRETED NYERERE'S CURT STATEMENT AS AN ATTEMPT TO "COVER HIS REAR IN CASE THE HAK MISSION FAILS AND ALSO APPEASE HARD-LINE ELEMENTS WHO DISTRUST HAK'S MOTIVES." HAK HIMSELF, THOUGH SURPRISED, BRUSHED ASIDE NYERERE'S REMARKS AS A MATTER OF NEGOTIATING TACTICS. HAK'S PUBLIC RECEPTION WAS WARMER IN THE ZAMBIAN CAPITAL OF LUSAKA. FORNMIN SITEKE MWALE GREETED HIM AT THE AIRPORT WITH AN EMBRACE AND PRES KAUNDA LATER ASSURED THE AMERICAN THAT HE WAS PRAYING HARD FOR HIS SUCCESS. BUT AS THE TWO MEN SAT ACROSS FROM EACH OTHER AT A CONFERENCE TABLE IN THE RED BRICK STATE HOUSE, KAUNDA ISSUED A BLUNT WARNING. "YOU HAVE ONLY A FEW DAYS -- NOT WEEKS -- TO SUCCEED," HE SAID. "IF YOU FAIL, WE SHALL HAVE REACHED THE POINT OF NO RETURN."

EMOTION: THE 52-YEAR-OLD KAUNDA, A MODERATE WHO IS OFTEN CALLED THE "CONSCIENCE OF AFRICA," WAS SOON OVERCOME BY EMOTION, DABBING AT HIS EYES WITH A WHITE HANDKERCHIEF. VISIBLY TOUCHED, HAK RESPONDED: "I PRAY FOR ALL OF US -- FOR YOUR PEOPLE AND OUR PEOPLE -- THAT I CAN BRING YOU ENCOURAGING NEWS." AFTER HIS TALKS WITH KAUNDA, HAK MET BRIEFLY WITH JOSHUA NKOMO, LEADER OF ONE OF THE BLACK FACTIONS FIGHTING IN RHODESIA. PERHAPS TO DIVERT NEWSMEN, KAUNDA HELD AN IMPROMPTU PRESS CONFERENCE, IN WHICH HIS VIEWS ON THE HAK SHUTTLE WERE LESS FERVID. HE CALLED HIS TALKS WITH THE SEC "USEFUL DISCUSSIONS," BUT ADDED: "I DIDN'T EXPECT HIM TO BRING ANYTHING NEW."

AS HAK LEFT LUSAKA FOR HIS MEETING WITH VORSTER, SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF WAS IN TURMOIL. IN CAPE TOWN, POLICE HAD OPENED FIRE ON COLORED DEMONSTRATORS. IN JOHANNESBURG, FIRE BOMBS EXPLODED IN TWO DEPT STORES, AND BLACKS STONED BUSES CARRYING WHITE COMMUTERS -- THE FIRST OMINOUS SIGNS OF TERRORISM DELIBERATELY AIMED AT WHITES. AT ALMOST THE SAME TIME THAT HAK'S PLANE TOUCHED DOWN AT WATERKLOOF MILITARY AIRPORT, BLACK STUDENTS IN SOWETO STAGED A MASS MARCH, CARRYING BANNERS READING "KISSINGER IS A KILLER" AND SINGING PROTEST SONGS. WHEN THE CROWD TRIED TO MARCH ON NEARBY JOHANNESBURG AND IGNORED A WARNING TO TURN BACK, POLICE SHOT THREE OF THEM DEAD.

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THEOLOGY: EVEN SO, HAK APPEARED OPTIMISTIC FOR PROGRESS IN HIS TALKS WITH VORSTER ON THE ISSUE OF NAMIBIA. VORSTER, HE THOUGHT, MIGHT AGREE TO INDEPENDENCE FOR THE DISPUTED TERRITORY BY THE END OF NEXT YEAR, A YEAR AHEAD OF THE CURRENT SCHEDULE. HAK ALSO WAS PRESSING VORSTER TO INCLUDE IN FUTURE TALKS ON NAMIBIA THE PRINCIPAL BLACK GUERRILLA GROUP THERE, THE SWAPO. BUT THERE WERE STILL MANY QUESTIONS TO BE RESOLVED THAT COULD BLOCK PROGRESS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. "THE NAMIBIAN THING IS DOWN NOW TO THEOLOGICAL POINTS THAT MEAN A HELL OF A LOT TO THE PARTICIPANTS," SAID A SENIOR OFFICIAL IN KISSINGER'S PARTY. "AND THAT MAY BLOW IT SKY HIGH."

AS THE DISCUSSIONS CONTINUED, SMITH FLEW TO SOUTH AFRICA. AT THE OUTSET OF THE HAK SHUTTLE, PROGRESS ON RHODESIA WAS THOUGHT TO BE A LOT LESS LIKELY THAN AGREEMENT ON NAMIBIA. BUT THEN VORSTER WENT TO WORK ON HIS GUEST. THEY MET FIRST AT VORSTER'S HILLTOP RESIDENCE (SMITH ARRIVED ONLY MINUTES AFTER KISSINGER HAD LEFT FOR A MEETING WITH SOUTH AFRICAN OPPOSITION LEADERS). THEN THE TWO MEN ATTENDED A RUGBY FOOTBALL MATCH. THAT EVENING, HAK JOINED VORSTER FOR DINNER, AND AFTERWARD US SPOKESMAN LAWRENCE EAGLEBURGER MADE THE ANNOUNCEMENT: "THE SECRETARY WILL MEET WITH PRIME MINISTER SMITH AT 9:30 (THE NEXT MORNING) AT THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE."

EAGLEBURGER BRUSHED ASIDE ALL QUESTIONS, AND THERE WAS NO INDICATION OF WHAT PRICE -- IF ANY -- KISSINGER HAD EXTRACTED FROM SMITH IN RETURN FOR THE MEETING. SO FAR, THE RHODESIAN LEADER HAD ADAMANTLY REJECTED DEMANDS FOR BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN HIS COUNTRY. THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE THAT HE WOULD CAVE IN BEFORE KISSINGER. BUT IT WAS EQUALLY UNLIKELY THAT HAK WOULD HAVE AGREED TO THE MEETING WITHOUT SOME REASON TO HOPE FOR AT LEAST PRIVATE ASSURANCES OF PROGRESS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. WHATEVER TRANSPIRED WITH SMITH, THE FIRST WEEK OF KISSINGER'S AFRICAN SHUTTLE HAD ALREADY PRODUCED MORE RESULTS THAN MANY PEOPLE HAD EXPECTED.

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-- RAYMOND CARROLL WITH MILTON R. BENJAMIN IN KISSINGER'S PARTY AND PETER YOUNGHUSBAND IN CAPE TOWN

2. TIME MAGAZINE, SEPTEMBER 27 ISSUE:

"SOUTHERN AFRICA: SHUTTLLING BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE"

"SCORES OF SOLDIERS AND POLICE, AS WELL AS AN ALL-BLACK HONOR GUARD, WERE ON HAND TO GREET HENRY KISSINGER AS HE ARRIVED IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CAPITAL OF PRETORIA LATE LAST WEEK ON THE THIRD STOP OF HIS LATEST EFFORT AT SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY. ALL WEEK LONG SPORADIC RIOTING HAD CONTINUED IN THE NONWHITE TOWNSHIPS AROUND JOHANNESBURG AND CAPE TOWN, AND A DEPARTMENT STORE IN DOWNTOWN JOHANNESBURG WAS FIRE-BOMBED -- THE FIRST SUCH ACT OF URBAN TERRORISM IN THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY. SHORTLY BEFORE KISSINGER'S BLUE AND WHITE 707 TOUCHED DOWN, POLICE FIRED AT DEMONSTRATORS IN JOHANNESBURG'S SOWETO TOWNSHIP, KILLING SIX STUDENTS AND WOUNDING 35. IN NO TIME, RUMORS WERE CIRCULATING IN LONDON, NEW YORK AND ELSEWHERE THAT THE SECRETARY HAD BEEN ASSASSINATED. PARAPHRASING MARK TWAIN, KISSINGER QUICKLY RETORTED THAT THE REPORTS OF HIS 'HAVING BEEN SHOT WERE GROSSLY EXAGGERATED.'

"BRUTAL TALK: THE SECRETARY DID NOT FIND MANY OPPORTUNITIES FOR JOcularITY IN HIS ATTEMPT TO HEAD OFF BY NEGOTIATION THE RACIAL ARMAGEDDON THAT SEEMS TO BE LOOMING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. TANZANIA'S PRESIDENT J. NYERERE HAD ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS NOT 'PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGED' BY KISSINGER'S MISSION. ZAMBIA'S PRESIDENT K. KAUNDA HAD DECLARED THAT KISSINGER MIGHT HAVE 'ONLY A FEW DAYS, NOT WEEKS' TO SUCCEED IN AVERTING A BLACK-WHITE WAR.

"WHEN KISSINGER ARRIVED IN PRETORIA, HE HAD NO EXPECTATION OF BRINGING ABOUT ANY CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA'S CHERISHED SYSTEM OF APARTHEID, OR 'SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT.' BUT HE WAS ANXIOUS TO SEE WHETHER A ROUND OF SUSTAINED NEGOTIATIONS COULD END THE IMPASSE OVER RHODESIA, WHOSE WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENT BROKE AWAY FROM BRITISH RULE ELEVEN YEARS AGO. AND HE WAS PARTICULARLY HOPEFUL THAT IF ALL ELSE FAILED, HE COULD ACHIEVE SOME MEASURED PROGRESS

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ON NAMIBIA, OR S-W AFRICA, THE ONETIME LEAGUE OF NATIONS TERRITORY THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS RULED SINCE 1920.

"SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER J. VORSTER MADE IT CLEAR FROM THE BEGINNING THAT HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH KISSINGER WOULD NOT DEAL WITH SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. IF VORSTER IS DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN WHITE RULE AT HOME, HE IS ALSO CONVINCED, HOWEVER, THAT IT CAN NO LONGER BE UPHELD IN EITHER RHODESIA OR NAMIBIA. BY AGREEING TO A TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN THOSE TERRITORIES, HE BELIEVES SOUTH

AFRICA CAN GAIN ENOUGH TIME FOR ITSELF TO BUILD LASTING TIES WITH ITS BLACK NEIGHBORS. AT ZURICH TWO WEEKS AGO, VORSTER HINTED TO KISSINGER THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO STEP UP THE PRESSURE ON RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH. ACCORDINGLY, VORSTER LAST WEEK TREATED SMITH TO A DUTCH UNCLE TALK THAT ONE DIPLOMAT DESCRIBED AS 'TOUGH TO THE POINT OF BRUTALITY.' EVIDENTLY, HE WARNED SMITH THAT PRETORIA'S FUTURE CAPACITY FOR HELPING RHODESIA WILL BE INCREASINGLY LIMITED. AS SMITH WELL KNOWS, AN ESTIMATED \$100 MILLION WORTH OF RHODESIAN BULK EXPORTS OF CORN, MINERALS AND TOBACCO ARE ALREADY HELD UP ON THE RHODESIAN SIDE OF THE BORDER FOR LACK OF SPACE ON SOUTH AFRICA'S CROWDED RAIL LINES TO CARRY THEM TO THE SEA.

"BE HONEST: SMITH LEFT THE MEETING LOOKING PALE AND ANGRY. HE TOOK OFF IMMEDIATELY FOR THE RHODESIAN BORDER TOWN OF UMTALI, WHERE THE ANNUAL CONGRESS OF HIS RHODESIAN FRONT PARTY WAS UNDER WAY. THOUGH IT SEEMS HARD TO IMAGINE, SMITH IS A MODERATE BY RHODESIAN STANDARDS, AND AT UMTALI HE FACED A RIGHT-WING REVOLT LED BY PARTY CHAIRMAN DESMOND FROST, WHO WOULD LIKE TO SPLIT RHODESIA INTO BLACK AND WHITE SECTORS UNDER OVERALL WHITE CONTROL. AFTER SIX HOURS OF SPEECHMAKING AND DEBATE, SMITH FORCED THE ISSUE IN A DRAMATIC SCENE, 'ARE YOU WITH MR OR ARE YOU NOT?' HE DEMANDED. 'FOR GOD'S SAKE, BE HONEST'. HE WON A FIVE-MINUTE STANDING OVATION, AFTER WHICH THE CONGRESS VOTED UNANIMOUSLY TO GIVE HIM 'A FREE HAND TO NEGOTIATE IN FUTURE ON BEHALF OF ALL RHODESIANS.'

"SOON SMITH WAS ON HIS WAY BACK TO SOUTH AFRICA FOR A SATURDAY NIGHT RUGBY MATCH -- AND, AS IT TURNED OUT, UNCLASSIFIED

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THE MEETING HE WANTED WITH HENRY KISSINGER. PREVIOUSLY, THE SECRETARY HAD SAID HE WOULD TALK TO SMITH ONLY IF HE WERE ASSURED IN ADVANCE OF 'MAJOR PROGRESS.' IN THE END, HE AGREED TO A SUNDAY MORNING MEETING IN ORDER TO SUSTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF HIS MISSION.

"ON NAMIBIA, KISSINGER HAD REASON TO HOPE FOR SOME GENUINE PROGRESS. SOUTH AFRICA IS ALREADY COMMITTED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE, AND LAST MONTH A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IN WINDHOEK, THE NAMIBIAN CAPITAL, SETTLED ON DECEMBER 31, 1978, AS THE DATE FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER.

"THE BIGGEST SNAG IS THAT THE NEGOTIATORS AT WINDHOEK DID NOT INCLUDE ANY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOUTH WEST PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION, THE LIBERATION -- AND GUERRILLA -- MOVEMENT THAT IS RECOGNIZED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AS THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE. KISSINGER'S FIRST CHORE WAS TO TRY TO GET SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO TOGETHER OVER THE SAME

CONFERENCE TABLE, PERHAPS IN GENEVA.

"KISSINGER'S SHUTTLE GOT OFF TO AN INAUSPICIOUS BEGINNING LAST WEEK WHEN HE LANDED AT DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA. ON ARRIVAL, HE FOUND THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT LESS RECEPTIVE TO HIS MISSION THAN HE HAD HOPED. STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS, OBVIOUSLY ACTING WITH GOVERNMENT ACQUIESCENCE GREETED THE SECRETARY WITH SIGNS BRANDING HIM A 'CYNICAL MURDERER.' LATER, AFTER FIVE HOURS OF TALKS, PRESIDENT NYERERE TOLD NEWSMEN THAT HE FELT 'EVEN LESS HOPEFUL' ABOUT NAMIBIA THAN HE HAD BEEN BEFORE. BUT AT THE VERY LEAST, NYERERE REMARKED, THE MISSION WOULD CLARIFY US VIEWS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. IN THAT SENSE, HE ADDED, 'A SHUTTLE OF CLARITY IS NOT A SHUTTLE OF FAILURE.'

"MAJORITY RULE: KISSINGER'S SECOND HOST, ZAMBIA'S PRESIDENT KAUNDA, WAS MORE ENTHUSIASTIC. KAUNDA, AN EMOTIONAL IDEALIST, WEPT AS HE SPOKE OF THE SEEMINGLY INEXORABLE SLIDE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA TOWARD BLOODSHED AND UNCLASSIFIED

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WAR. 'WE DEMAND WHAT IS RIGHT AND FAIR AND JUST TO ALL MEN,' HE ADDED, PLEDGING HIS COUNTRY TO FIGHT 'TO THE LAST MAN IF NECESSARY,' FOR MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE, THE AFRICAN NAME FOR RHODESIA. AT THE END OF THEIR DISCUSSIONS, KAUNDA OBSERVED OF KISSINGER: 'HIS HEART IS IN THE RIGHT PLACE, AND HE HAS OUR PRAYERS.' THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD RETURN TO LUSAKA AFTER HIS VISIT TO PRETORIA 'TO REPORT TO YOU, AND I PRAY FOR ALL OF US THAT I CAN BRING YOU ENCOURAGING NEWS.' AT WEEK'S END, AS KISSINGER PROCEEDED WITH HIS TALKS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND PREPARED TO REPORT BACK TO KAUNDA, NYERERE AND OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS ON HIS WAY HOME, IT WAS UNCERTAIN WHETHER HE WOULD HAVE MUCH ENCOURAGEMENT TO OFFER."

3. NEWSWEEK:

"PLAYING BY THE AFRICAN RULES"

"EVEN FOR A DIPLOMAT AS SKILLED AS HENRY KISSINGER, BLACK AFRICA WAS FULL OF UNSETTLING SURPRISES. NONE OF HIS PREVIOUS SHUTTLES FULLY PREPARED THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE NEGOTIATING STYLE HE ENCOUNTERED IN TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA, AND HE SPENT A LARGE AND FRUSTRATING PART OF

HIS WEEK LEARNING THE RULES OF A NEW DIPLOMATIC GAME.

"NEVER BEFORE HAD KISSINGER DEALT WITH SO MANY INTERESTED PARTIES. HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA AND CHINA HAD BEEN BILATERAL AFFAIRS, AND EVEN IN THE MIDDLE EAST HE HAD BEEN REQUIRED, FOR THE MOST PART, TO WORK WITH ONLY TWO NATIONS AT ONE TIME; THE TROUBLESOME PALESTINIANS WERE EXCLUDED. IN BLACK AFRICA, FIVE 'FRONTLINE' NATIONS, IN VARYING HUES OF RADICALISM, PLUS FOUR GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS HAD TO BE CONSIDERED, AND MANY OF THEM WERE AT ODDS WITH EACH OTHER. MOST OF THE BLACK STATESMEN WERE IN FAR WEAKER POSITIONS POLITICALLY THAN A MAO TSE-TUNG OR AN ANWAR SADAT -- AND THUS UNABLE TO DEAL AS FREELY. AFTER TANZANIAN PRESIDENT J. NYERERE FOLLOWED UP HIS PRIVATE EXPRESSIONS OF CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM WITH A PUBLIC EXPRESSION OF DOUBT, US SOURCES SPOKE REPEATEDLY OF NYERERE'S NEED 'TO SHORE UP HIS REVOLUTIONARY CREDENTIALS.'

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"THE POETRY OF REVOLUTION RUNS STRONG IN AFRICA, AND KISSINGER'S TALKS HAD A HIGH EMOTIONAL CONTENT. MANY LEADERS OF BLACK NATIONS BEGAN THEIR STRUGGLE IN THE BUSH AND LIKE TO SAY THAT THEY WON THEIR INDEPENDENCE THROUGH REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE -- EVEN IF, IN SOME CASES, THE COLONIAL POWERS MERELY WALKED AWAY AND HANDED THEM THE KEYS. EVEN THE MODERATE K. KAUNDA RESORTED TO RADICAL RHETORIC, WARNING THAT IF THE SHUTTLE FAILED, 'WE WILL FIGHT -- TO THE LAST MAN IF NECESSARY.'

"HONEST BROKER: KISSINGER'S USUAL STYLE IS TO MORE OR LESS NAIL DOWN A GENERAL AGREEMENT BEFORE HE HIMSELF APPEARS ON THE SCENE, AND THAT TAKES COOPERATION FROM HIS OPPOSITE NUMBERS. BUT THIS TIME, THE BLACK AFRICANS WERE NOT EVEN COMMITTED TO THE IDEA OF NEGOTIATION. 'I THINK THIS IS THE BASIC OBSTACLE -- THE RELUCTANCE OF ANYBODY TO ADMIT THAT NEGOTIATIONS CAN SUCCEED' KISSINGER SAID IN DAR ES SALAAM.

"A BIGGER OBSTACLE MAY HAVE BEEN THAT MANY BLACKS STILL

DID NOT COMPLETELY TRUST KISSINGER OR BELIEVE HIS CLAIMS THAT HE WAS SIMPLY TRYING TO BE AN HONEST BROKER. IN TANZANIA, KISSINGER ASSERTED THAT THE US 'WILL DO WHAT WE ARE ASKED TO DO ... WE WILL TAKE NO INITIATIVES THAT ARE NOT INVITED, AND WHATEVER PROGRESS WILL OCCUR DEPENDS OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE PARTIES AND THE GOODWILL OF THE PARTICIPANTS.'

"SOME FOREIGN DIPLOMATS, HOWEVER, ARGUED THAT KISSINGER

WOULD BE BETTER ADVISED TO ADMIT FRANKLY THAT THE US HAS
LARGE DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC STAKES IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA. AND SOME OF THE BLACK 'PARTIES' THEMSELVES HAD
DOUBTS ABOUT THE DEPTH OF AMERICAN GOODWILL. IN A FORMAL
STATEMENT, THE TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ASKED: 'WHY
CANNOT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ALSO SAY THAT IF A PEACEFUL
TRANSFER OF POWER IS IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE INTRANS-

IGENCE OF THE RACISTS, THEN IT WILL BE ON THE SIDE OF
THOSE WHO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM?'

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""OBSESSION": SOME BLACKS, SUCH AS NYERERE, ALSO
COMPLAINED THAT THE US APPEARED TO BE SO AFRAID OF
SOVIET AND CUBAN PENETRATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA THAT IT
CONFUSED BLACK NATIONALISM WITH A MARXIST BID FOR POWER.
'CUBA, CUBA, CUBA' STORMED NYERERE. 'I FIND THIS CUBAN
OBSESSION INCREDIBLE -- AND IT COMES FROM INTELLIGENT
PEOPLE.' 'THE AFRICANS WANT AN AFRICAN SOLUTION, NOT ONE
THAT FALLS INTO LINE WITH THE WESTERN VIEW OF THE WORLD,'

SAID A FOREIGN DIPLOMAT. AN AFRICAN JOURNALIST ADDED:
'THEY HAVE LEARNED THAT THE WEST AND THE SOVIET
UNION PURSUE THEIR OWN GOALS, AND THEY ARE EQUALLY
CYNICAL ABOUT BOTH.' 'WHETHER OR NOT SUCH JUDGMENTS WERE
FAIR, THEY WERE ONES THAT KISSINGER WOULD HAVE TO LIVE
WITH -- OR ADROITLY WORK HIS WAY AROUND.'
(MARK STEVENS WITH JAMES PRINGLE IN LUSAKA AND DAR AND
MILTON R. BENJAMIN WITH KISSINGER'S PARTY).
ROBINSON

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